

## Message Text

SECRET

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47

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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O R 051735Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY LOME

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 204

INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY COTONOU

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY NIAMEY

S E C R E T LOME 0271

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS

TAGS: PFOR, TO, US, AO

SUBJECT: EYADEMA'S APPEAL FOR WESTERN ROLE IN ANGOLA

REF: (A) LOME 0265, (B) LOME 0264, (C) LOME 0243

1. CONTINUING ANALYSIS OF MEETING WITH PRESIDENT EYADEMA (REF C) FAILS THUS FAR TO SATISFY MY CURIOSITY ABOUT SEVERAL ASPECTS OF PUZZLE. ONE QUESTION IS WHY HE CHOSE TO ADDRESS ME AND GERMAN AND FRENCH AMBASSADORS JOINTLY. (WE ARE ONLY THREE RESIDENT WESTERN ENVOYS IN TOGO.) ANSWER MAY BE SIMPLY THAT HE ASSUMES WE COLLABORATE MORE THAN WE DO. IF PRESIDENT MOTIVATED PRINCIPALLY BY FIT OF ANGER INDUCED BY SOVIET AMBASSADOR'S DEMARCHE, HOWEVER, HE MAY NOW REGRET THAT HE HANDLED IT THIS WAY. FOR, IF HE IS NOT WILLING TO GO PUBLIC ON "NEW" GOT POSITION, HE HAS EXPOSED HIMSELF UNNECESSARILY TO THREE GOVERNMENTS (WHOSE OWN INTERESTS IN TOGO VARY WIDELY IN IMPORTANCE), WHEN HIS MESSAGE CLEARLY WAS MEANT FOR USG.

THIS WOULD COMPOUND DIFFICULTY FOR EYADEMA IN EVER TRYING TO DENY THAT HE HAD URGED WESTERN "COLONIALIST" INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA. GIVEN PACE OF EVENTS THERE, HOWEVER, EYADEMA MAY HAVE BEEN WILLING AT THIS STAGE TO RISK DISCOVERY OF HIS APPEAL BY OTHER AFRICANS IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH CREDIT WITH THE WEST. SIGNIFICANTLY,

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HE DID NOT MENTION OTHER AFRICAN POSITIONS OR INTER-AFRICAN

CONSULTATIONS ON ANGOLA. IN APPROACHING US, EYADEMA MAY HAVE ACTED ENTIRELY ON HIS OWN AND FOR TOGO'S BENEFIT AS HE PERCEIVES IT, WITHOUT CAREFULLY CONSIDERING POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES.

2. I URGE THAT USG NOT RPT NOT MAKE ANY REFERENCE TO EYADEMA'S CALL FOR WESTERN INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA. HIS APPEAL IS NOT RPT NOT ON PUBLIC RECORD (NOTE COMMENT REF C) AND ANY INDICATION FROM US THAT HE HAS APPROACHED WEST WOULD ADVERSELY INFLUENCE EYADEMA'S VIEW OF US RELIABILITY IN ANY DIALOGUE WE MIGHT DESIRE IN FUTURE. FOR THE MOMENT, US HAS BECOME DIRECTLY, EVEN IF UN-REALISTICALLY, RELEVANT TO TOGO. LET'S NOT SPOIL IT.

3. I AM NOT AWARE WHETHER EYADEMA SHARES CONCERN HEARD HERE THAT USG AND SOVIETS HAVE MADE AN ARRANGEMENT. FONMIN SECRETARY GENERAL SUGGESTED TO ME AT DINNER PARTY OTHER NIGHT THAT, WHILE HE PERSONALLY DID NOT BELIEVE IT, "OTHERS" WERE SAYING US WAS WILLING TO WRITE OFF ANGOLA FOR SALT. WHEN ASKED TO CLARIFY WHAT HE MEANT BY "OTHERS," SECGEN SAID OTHER COUNTRIES.

4. FRENCH AMBASSADOR ROUDIE MENTIONED RECENTLY HE DID NOT THINK IT WISE TO LINK ANGOLAN SITUATION TO DETENTE. WHILE PERHAPS NOT EVER INTENDING TO UNDERMINE USG, ROUDIE IS NO DIFFERENT FROM HIS PREDECESSOR IN WANTING TO PRESERVE WHAT INFLUENCE REMAINS FOR FRANCE OVER GOT (AND I THINK IT IS CONSIDERABLE). HE THEREFORE WOULD NOT LIKELY BE OF HELP, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, IF WE GOT INTO TROUBLE BY ALLOWING EYADEMA'S PLEA TO BECOME PUBLIC.

5. IT IS LIKELY, TOO, THAT EYADEMA IS IMPRESSED BY CHINESE POSITION AND PROSPECTS IN ANGOLAN AFFAIR, EVEN IF HE HAS NOT TAKEN ACCOUNT OF CHINA'S LIMITED ABILITY TO INFLUENCE SITUATION. CHINESE BACKED OFF QUICKLY TO LEAVE TWO ELEPHANTS TO TRAMPLE GRASS BETWEEN THEM IN ANGOLA. THEY HAVE ONLY TO GAIN WHERE SOVIETS ARE DISCREDITED AND CAN BE EXPECTED TO MAKE MOST OF ANY OPPORTUNITY TO CONTRIBUTE TO SOVIET DIFFICULTY.

6. THERE IS NO QUESTION ABOUT GENUINENESS OF EYADEMA'S CONCERN OVER GROWING SOVIET INFLUENCE, PARTICULARLY NEXT DOOR IN BENIN WHERE GOVERNMENT CHARGES OF GOT IMPLICATION IN COUP-PLOTTING (REF B) PROVIDE CRITICAL IRRITANT. EYADEMA NOW VISITING LIBYAN PRESIDENT QADHAFI, WITH WHOM HE PROBABLY WILL DISCUSS, INTER ALIA,

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SOVIET PROBLEM. IN MEETING WITH WESTERN AMBASSADORS, EYADEMA CITED QADHAFI AS ONE AFRICAN LEADER WHO HAD REJECTED SOVIET INFLUENCE. EYADEMA CONTRASTED QADHAFI WITH ALGERIANS WHO, HE ARGUED RATHER BLUNTLY WITH FRENCH AMBASSADOR, WERE INDEED COMMUNISTS.

7. EYADEMA IS EXPECTED TO RETURN TO TOGO FROM LIBYA TOMORROW, FEBRUARY 6. HE WILL BE AWARE OF TOGOLESE MEDIA'S INTERPRETATION OF SECRETARY'S SPEECH AT SAN FRANCISCO AS WRITING OFF ANGOLA

(REF A) AND MAY WISH TO RECEIVE FURTHER CLARIFICATION OF US  
POSITION. I WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS.  
RAWLS

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